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GENERATION

OF ISRAEL

THE LAND OF HIS FOREFATHERS.

PUBLISHED BY

H. TEPLITZKY.

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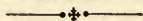
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Introduction.



SIR,

In order to induce you to read this book at once, I must inform you that it is a most important one for Judaism generally, and therefore I mean to send it to Royalty, to statesmen in and out of office, and to the heads of the clergy. But not being yet satisfied in my mind as to whether this might prove useful or injurious to Judaism, I resolved to ask the advice of our prominent men on this point, as they are more competent to decide it. That is why I insist upon your reading this booklet immediately.

The purpose of it is to arouse the holy idea of the colonisation of Palestine, and to fan the spark of Nationalism. All the Jews, rich or poor, must be ready for action, and pervaded by that idea, and they must not imagine for a moment that they can live among other nations. Experience has shown that we are not liked anywhere, and we are strangers everywhere. Though we may be railway contractors, manufacturers, bankers, and even barons, we still remain rich beggars. A nation without a land and ambition, begging for nearly 2,000 years, can be respected by no one. Should anything in this book seem strange to you or opposed to your views, I am ready to give you any explanations required.

In short, I have made up my mind to make the round of the world, wherever Jews are to be found, in order to propagate the holy and happy idea of the colonisation of Palestine. But such an undertaking requires means, of which I am not possessed, and I have, moreover, to support a widowed mother with a grown-up sister. It therefore occurred to me to send copies to the richest men of London, so that with the money received from them in return I might be able to print this book in thousands of copies for sale, at the cost price, among the poor.

I request you then, firstly, to read the book ; secondly, to send me a remittance, not later than in a fortnight ; and, thirdly, to let me have your advice as mentioned above, whilst I am ready to call personally on you if desired. Moreover, I intend to publish books on education, as well as against Socialism, at such a low price that they should be accessible even to the poorest. In short, I have made up my mind to be useful to the world.

Though there may be some who might doubt my earnestness, I cannot help that ; and although I add my likeness, I cannot display my heart. But if they like to convince themselves they would do well to make my acquaintance. As everybody has some kind of passion, it has been mine, from my very childhood, to do good. This I owe to the education of my parents, who inculcated me with good manners, as for instance : 1. forbearance ; 2. respectfulness ; 3. self-possession ; 4. to judge others favourably ; 5. affability ; 6. to learn from everybody ; 7. patience ; 8. to avoid anger ; 9. to love and to pursue peace ; 10. openness ; 11. not to be obstinate ; 12. truthfulness ; 13. cheerfulness ; 14. to love the neighbour as myself ; 15. contentedness ; 16. simplicity ; and 17. energy. I think that a man possessing these 17 qualities might be useful, and if anybody doubts whether they are to be found in me, they are welcome to satisfy themselves by personal interviews with me.

The Talmud, too, tells us that good works are of greater importance than wisdom, and especially are educational books wanted in Palestine, since our nation was dispersed two thousand years ago through their dissensions. Remember the words of the holy Talmudists, who tell us that "the Law comes from the sons of the poor." This is not surprising, since the poor alone know what suffering is, and therefore they take an interest in the public welfare.

I therefore hope that nobody will despise me, but that everyone will do all he can to assist me, so that I might live myself, and carry out my good intentions for my suffering people. And though I might not be able to finish the work, I am not free to reject it, and I must try to be a man where there are no men. Feeling myself to possess the necessary qualities for carrying out any undertaking, it is my duty not to remain silent, and God will help me in my endeavours.

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The Jewish Question and Palestine.

THE misfortunes which befell us lately called into existence two parties amongst the Russian Jews ; one of which sees the deliverance of the Jews in emigration, *i.e.*, at least the poorest and labouring section shall try to settle down in some other countries ; while the second maintains that we ought not to wander in search of a new fatherland—but to stay where we are, only taking good care that, for the future, our neighbours shall be more satisfied with us, so that in process of time we would get equal rights, &c.

Thus the Jewish question assumed a new shape, namely, Shall the Jews remain in Russia in such great numbers as at present, or not ?

Although the question of emigration, so long as there is no permission from the Government for it, cannot stand as a question at all, I yet wish to look at it from such points to which, as far as I know, none as yet has applied his mind.

The following opinions expressed by me on the Jewish question are thoroughly in harmony with my personal views concerning the position of our people all over Europe. Whether my views are correct or not, whether they will meet with ridicule, or cause the reader, while thinking of them, to feel discouraged and troubled, I do not know ; but however the case may be, I do not consider it superfluous to explain them. At any rate, the question is certainly worth consideration.

I.

We have already become accustomed to believe that our mediæval troubles have long since terminated ; that the modern hatred and prejudice which made its appearance in Germany, under the name of "Anti-Semitism," is a monster which Prince Bismarck shaped for the furtherance of his political aims ; that the riots against us could only have been caused by the degradations we suffered through our not possessing equal rights, and therefore when that statesman will have reached his aims, and when we, the Russian Jews, enjoy equality of rights, then will all persecution cease, the philanthropic spirit of the nineteenth century will assert itself, and will distribute peace and goodwill to all.

But if we just recall to mind that any historical phenomenon has its roots very deep in the life and history of that assembly of people from whose midst it has come to our notice ; if we should only remember this, we might come to quite another, though, alas, melancholy, conclusion.

If—as our sages express themselves—all the inhabitants of the globe were to come together with the intention of creating even the tiniest insect, all their exertions would remain futile : how could Bismarck, quite by himself, create so huge a monster as Anti-Semitism ? . . . But seeing that this monster *was* brought into existence, we must conclude that the soil possessed some peculiar adaptability for its production.

What sort of a thing is it, then, which is fed by that soil ?

This question will be easily answered after our investigating the various causes of the sufferings the Jews underwent in the middle ages, and of the painful position of our people in Poland, as also the causes by which our emancipation was brought about in Western Europe, on the one hand, and the gradual diminution of our rights in the eastern parts of the same continent—as Russia and Roumania—on the other hand.

A stranger in a house can, at best, be accepted as a guest, and no sooner will it be found that he is in the least way prejudicial to the interests of a member of the family than he will be reminded, with more or less politeness, of his real position ; a conduct which is only in accordance with the innate feeling of self-preservation.

A nation is a large family, and it is the same instinctive feeling which makes it intolerant of the idea that a stranger should dare to compete with itself. In the middle ages, when cruelty and ignorance reigned supreme, religion served as the test between the stranger and the native. The Christian was the native, and he that was not a Christian was an alien. But the Jew, the unfortunate stranger, felt the want of food and

drink no less than the native ; and it was thus in his endeavour to obtain the necessities of life that he came into conflict with his Christian neighbours. The Christian could not bear the idea that a Jew, an alien, should produce the same work which he himself, the native, was doing honour to, or, in brief, should compete with him. The Jew was therefore compelled to occupy himself only with trading, *i.e.*, the few occupations which the natives did not themselves follow. But the wealth which the Jew by industry and thrift accumulated, only served to increase the malice and envy of the Gentile, and when he himself began trading, the idea occurred to him that, if not for that Jew, he would meet with more success, and all the riches now belonging to the Jew would be in his own possession ; the result of such unjustifiable meditation was an immediate judgment upon the unfortunate Jews.

How much method there was in such a mode of thought and action was clearly demonstrated by Spain, which, after the expulsion of the Jews, has absolutely sunk into poverty. Well, then, they misjudged the truth. But are expulsions, persecutions, or cruelties of any kind ever the result of anything but such misjudgment ? Have not all the endless sufferings of our people sprung exclusively from misunderstanding the character of the Jewish race ?

The princes who held them as their subjects generally protected them ; still they were not always capable of standing against the barbarity of the masses and of rescuing the innocent victims of brutal and ill-advised populaces. And it is, comparatively speaking, but in recent times, when, through reform, revolution, and internal conflicts, that they forgot, amidst the din of battle, the few aliens in their midst.

The only exception then was Poland. There, leastways as long as it was a kingdom, the Jews were not considered as a burden on the natives, because the Jews did not, in fact could not, compete with the Poles. They, the Jews, lived there upon the superfluities and offals of the proud nobles, to which the lower classes had no privilege. The nobles gave themselves up to perpetual luxury and intriguing. The down-trodden masses cultivated the soil, and the alien, the Jew, was doomed to be a trader, usurer, or *factor*. Thus, without competition there was no persecution. The alien was not thought an encumbrance upon the nation, he stayed in the family with the rights of a footman. . . . But, if habit is a second nature, occupation is a second education. The footmanship brought to the Polish Jews more evil consequences than the *auto-da-fés* and their wholesale slaughter in other countries. Boorishness and servility was nowhere to be seen in such proportions as amongst the Jews in Poland.

II.

The French Revolution could not quite pass away without having left behind an indelible mark upon Jewish history, and the nineteenth century followed.

When a poor man suddenly becomes rich he loses for some short time, at the beginning of his new life, his usual evenness of character. Somehow, he turns out to be highly sensitive, very good-natured, kind-hearted in the extreme, and prepared to make any sacrifice. The newly emancipated slave, immediately after he gains his liberty, would in a brotherly manner shake hands with anyone he meets. Gradually, the one, as well as the other, returns to himself again, his original traits of character and usual disposition regain their wonted ascendancy over him. The same phenomenon was witnessed during, and immediately after, the French Revolution. When Europe disencumbered itself of mediæval oppression, of the various castes tyrannically domineering over one another, and obtained rights and privileges such as were never known before, then it became gentle and kindly natured, aroused to a sense of justice, and inclined to accept every man as a brother, and and fraternally shook the hands of the "alien." Thus the Jews obtained equal rights.

Russia, not having taken part in the mediæval arrangements of the rest of Europe, did not feel the necessity for striving to obtain any social reform, and had no occasion to find herself in that state of excitement when one is ready to embrace the "alien" with the same warmth of brotherly affection as the "native"; for this reason the Russian Jews remained strangers to the happy effects of emancipation.

Something, however, similar to this did actually happen to us. In the commencement of the reign of Alexander II., when Russia, after the Crimean war, awoke to new life, the intelligent classes seemed, for some time at least, to look down with feelings of compassion upon the outcast "aliens"; but that was of no long duration. In the last decade the German monster made its appearance. That hateful monster was none other than the bigotted Anti-Semitism, and a long, long succession of riots followed. Is it possible that we shall see a revival of the middle ages with all their accompanying horrors? many asked, with a shudder. To my opinion it seems *not* to be beyond the range of possibility.

And no great wonder. Even in this enlightened century a stranger will not be accepted in a family as one of its members. No more will he be considered as such in the XX. or XXI. centuries. The character of man, as a whole, does not alter, the appearances perhaps of some of his qualities may assume some

other shape, and other definitions—another term. In the past the distinguishing mark of the stranger was religion, now it is race and nationality. These are now the *Lares et Pénates*, the household gods of our modern European countries ; they now take the place of the former religious ideals. The Hebrew is not a Teuton, nor a Mongol ; not a Magyar, nor a Slave ; but a Semite, and unredeemably a stranger. We are all the same aliens to-day as in the middle ages, and although we are not threatened in the present age with an *auto-da-fé*, yet we are far from secure from all possible limitations and exceptional laws. And that is but natural. For as long as people believe that the atmosphere of some certain space, for a certain distance, is not the property of the whole country, but of one or the other nationality, a man of another nationality inhaling this air must necessarily be reckoned a stranger, and a stranger cannot always be tolerated.

“ Down with the stranger ! ‘Hep, hep, Juden heraus !’ ” is to be heard now in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, and Roumania, and this savage cry will, unfortunately, according to all appearances, last for a long, a very long time yet.

A famished German perceiving some aliens having a piece of bread, whilst he, the primitive inhabitant of the land, through some cause or other, is without it, he jumps at once to the conclusion that were it not for this alien he would have been in the possession of that crumb, not caring at all about the fact that thousands of aliens suffer from the effects of hunger not less than he himself, or that tens and even hundreds of thousands of natives prosper in a greater degree than the aliens.

A German seeing a rich store-house or a beautiful home in the possession of an alien, his greed does not permit him to have any rest. “ If not for this Jew ”—he argues with himself—“ this store-house or this factory together with this house might have been mine.” It does not at all occur to him that were it not for this Jew perhaps that very house would not have been in existence. The educated German seeing a Jewish professor, physician, or judge, etc., he thinks if those Jews were not here he might have occupied this chair or that office, and he does not at all care about the fact that Jews did a great deal for the progress of learning and science, and that this Jew who was appointed to that honourable post was undoubtedly more capable than himself, the native, who has not been found worthy to fill such a post—and he clamours : “ Down with the aliens ! ”

III.

The very same thing we see now in Russia. The mercantile and intellectual classes have been too much annoyed by the

competition of strangers. The intellectual classes have experienced the keenness of that rivalry, while yet in the school-rooms, for, as it is well-known, the Jewish children are in most cases of more diligent habits than the native children. And this is how so many agitators were found to incite against the Jews a populace which, with very rare exceptions, had nothing against them, for it did not suffer, it could not come to suffer from their competition—that low multitude which is never adverse to disturbances and to appropriating any man's property, when they can do so without much trouble. Here we had the *Pogromi*, the riots.

This opinion of mine may be corroborated by the following facts :—That nowhere were there found any representatives of any grade of society to make the least attempt to allay the anger of the excited mob when it broke loose in riot. That the Russian press, with a few exceptions, instead of causing, or at least trying to cause, the passion of the multitude to subside, it took even with greater zeal than before to accuse us of every imaginable crime, and, as it were, took up the defence of such disgraceful acts as violence and robbing in open daylight. And that, finally, while this reign of terror was at its height yet, cries were raised in various places for the still greater diminishing of the rights enjoyed by the Jews—and even for their expulsion. We can imagine that the stranger is disliked ; but wherefore the mask ? What is the good of such double-dealing ? Instead of bringing accusations against us you might just as well say, openly and clearly : “ We do not want strangers ! ”

It may be remembered that when a certain Pope was asked to distribute some bread also to some of the poorest Jews, he replied with the words of him whom he called his master—*Non bonum est sumere panem filiorum et jacere canibus*. Clear and simple. Why, then, do they not also act in the same open and straightforward manner ? Wherefore accuse the Jews of all imaginable crimes, scarcely less terrible than that of poisoning wells ? They had better say—*Non bonum est sumere panem filiorum et jacere . . . well, say, alieni genis !*

Thus we see that while in mediæval times the Jew was not tolerated on account of his professing another creed, he is not tolerated now on account of his being a member of another nationality ; but the effect is one and the same.

If we find the Jews in France, Italy, and other countries tolerated as strangers, it is, first, because there are so few of them there that it is found to be hardly worth while to make mention of them ; and, secondly, which is, according to my opinion, the more important reason, that these nations are at present engaged with other and more important questions

than that of the Jews. France, especially, is yet distracted with party strife, not to speak of Alsace and Lorraine, which give her more trouble than a thousand such minor questions as that of the Jews. Italy is still occupied with strengthening her union. About England, which is generally incapable of sudden and precipitate changes of views, and which is ever on the look-out to obtain new seaports, of that wealthy country, which is even admiring the offsprings of the ancient prophets, there is nothing to speak. And when these nations will have reached their much desired aims, the feelings roused by their success will gradually cool down, and the usual course of life will be resumed, as may be seen in the case of the German, Hungarian, and Roumanian nations, and then, possibly, they too will commence to look askance at the "aliens," the Semites, who considered themselves already as naturalised amongst the European nations.

That is, according to my view, the real state of affairs as regards the Jewish question at all times and in all countries. We were known as "aliens" in the middle ages, when religious fanaticism held undisputed sway, and we shall be considered as "aliens" as long as national fanaticism will not cease. Will this new sort of fanaticism continue for as long a period as its predecessor, and will not some more modern mode of distinction be invented when this one will disappear? This cannot be foreseen by anyone. However, it is quite probable that this Anti-Semitism with the *pogromi*, the riots, are but the buds of the fresh national movements which are just beginning to spring to life amongst the European nations, and the fruit has yet to appear.

It is utterly useless to strive to deceive ourselves by maintaining that the modern persecutions are but temporary phenomena, coming by chance, and called into existence by our enemies. No; this is but a natural effect of a well-known principle—everyone is nearest to himself—and, according to this, the stranger must always stand at a respectful distance from the members of the family.

But nationality is a thing which cannot be felt by any of the five senses. We can only have some idea of it when persons of different nationalities collide. For how can one feel whether in his veins flows the blood of the one or the other nationality? So *we* cannot feel ourselves as strangers. Quite the reverse; we are not in the least unjustified in considering ourselves as natives. Here we are born, here we grew up to be men, and made ourselves more or less useful. Here, for above a thousand years, perhaps long before the beginning of Russian history, lay the bones of our forefathers, who were expelled from Germany to Poland, and here did our

brothers and sons shed their blood for that fatherland which does not acknowledge us as its children. Yes, *we* do not feel like strangers, but history, the exceptional laws, and the *pogromi* remind us of that which our hospitable native neighbours do not choose to forget for one moment. But we cannot subsist on history, exceptional laws; we must work with mind or body, and here, at every turn, you step on the toe of one or another of the natives.

Can there be a more honest and laborious occupation than agriculture, or a more honourable profession than that of learning? But no, scarcely did the Jews take themselves to it when a clamour was immediately raised, Here goes the Jew! The young Jewry occupy those school-benches on which "our youth" might have sat. Never minding that that little Abraham, who was admitted into the institution, is, according to all probabilities, more capable than *Vainka*—little Ivan—who was not admitted; and the former is consequently expected to bring more use to the world than the latter. But a man usually looks for his own personal comfort sooner than for the benefit of the empire; well, so do they when they raise the cry—the Jews work on the fields and take away our earnings! Such is the case with these professions; against less honourable callings the cry is naturally greater still.

It is decidedly clear that as long as the air will be constituted as somebody's property, and the Jews will have to eat, drink, dress, etc., to gain which they will be obliged to work in some way, and thereby divert some work from some of the natives during all this time, whatever calling the Jews may turn themselves to they will be a superfluous burden on the native populace! If they take to agriculture and manual labour, i.e., enter into competition with the natives, the more reason they will have to fear the multitude. It is a fact that Jewish farmers and labourers suffered more from the riots.

IV.

How can we escape from such an inexpressibly painful position?

It is evident that there remains only one way open before us, namely, to cease being strangers.

But in what manner? The mean-spirited and short-sighted among us advise absolute assimilation as the sole and complete

remedy to all misfortunes. If we will sacrifice all our past, which was full of suffering, if we will deliver our incomparable History to the Archives, and then if we were to pretend to accept the creeds of those who surround us, although it will in our hearts remain unacknowledged, if we were to plunge into the wide ocean of nationalities, then, certainly, after the lapse of some decades, the aliens will become unrecognisably swallowed up by the aborigines, and there would be no more Hebrews.

Letting alone the baseness of such a criminal deceit, not speaking also of the likelihood that our offsprings will lose those rare qualities with which the Hebrew race has been richly endowed, and to deprive our offsprings of which we have as much right as a healthy man would have a moral right to wed an hereditary diseased woman for some pecuniary consideration ; and, lastly, even putting aside the doubt whether that wide tempestuous ocean—the European races—would consent to swallow us up, we can not at all entertain any such false hopes as total assimilation. The true point lies therein that such a manner of assimilation means nothing less than annihilation of a nation, and a nation cannot die of its own accord. This is the work of History, and we cannot foresee when it will accomplish that destructive work in our case, the less so, since we see that until now History was powerless to accomplish it. Of course we need say nothing about occasional deserters—such dealers in conscience and creed have always been ; but this is sure, that through them our fortunes have not improved in the least. On the contrary, as M. A. Ginzburg excellently expressed it, they diminish the number of the smitten, and swell the numbers of the smiters.

But as Europe has a lawful pretext not to tolerate strangers, so we, the unfortunate strangers, have also a right to announce to European nations our lawful demands. True, we are but aliens in Europe, but surely we did not come here of our own accord in order to annoy you ; we were driven perforce from our own land into Western Europe, and thence into Poland. No more are we to blame that the Roman army—part of whose legions were formed of the ancestors of the present European nations—was physically stronger than we ourselves. It is also no fault of ours that through the division of Poland a part of us suddenly found ourselves under Russian rule, while another part of us swelled the number of the Austrian and Prussian subjects. We would rather have preferred to have stayed in our “own country,” and not at all to have become acquainted with the *agreeable charms* of the middle ages, or the Anti-Semitism and riots of more recent times. Further, are we not human beings ? We have a *right to exist*, and, still

more so, we have a right to call attention to our condition ; we are the most ancient of all existing civilised nations ; we have assisted not a little towards the progress of European civilisation, yet all the thanks accorded to us consisted in constant suffering. But at any rate no one will deprive us of the right to exist—and to exist in Europe you do not and will not let us do. The more you will limit our rights, the more will dangerous people multiply amongst us ; on the other hand, the more liberties you grant to us, the more we will compete with you. Be it one way or the other, you will not let us, acknowledged strangers as we are, have a proper rest. Once granted—that we are not to be blamed for having been cast on your shores ; that we, as human beings, have a right to exist, and finally, that you do not tolerate us—well then, give us some such corner, where we could gradually, in the process of time, re-settle and exist as natives, and not as strangers. Thereby you will liberate yourselves from our competition, which is so very trying to your people, and ourselves from everlasting undeserved sufferings. . . . That corner, according to my opinion, can only be *Palestine*.

But if Europe chooses to remain deaf to our demands and entreaties, we ourselves can in no way remain indifferent respecting our position in the present, as well as our prospect for the future. We ought to know that now begins a second chapter in the history of our sufferings under the heading of National Fanaticism, and the short pause given to us in recent times is only the *blank space* left between the chapters, which, according to the compositor's taste, may be of more or less extent. How many pages, full of records of blood, this chapter will contain, and what kind of chapters will follow, none can foretell. Therefore we should strive to do all in our power for the *Colonisation of Palestine*, to settle our kindred there, so that in the process of one century the Hebrews would perhaps totally evacuate inhospitable Europe, settling not far from it, though in the country of our forefathers, the historical claim upon which was not lost with our independence—as was shown by the fate of the nations of the Balkan Peninsula. That is why Palestine is greatly to be preferred to America. There is again another reason why the preference should be given to Palestine ; there we shall be able not only to cultivate the soil, but also to follow any other occupation or trade, without exciting jealousy among the natives—the more so in a country uniting the three parts of the old world, which could not be the case with America. It is quite out of the question to compete with the rich and powerful Yankees.

This, according to my understanding, is why we ought not to think of America, but to apply all our energy to the colonisation of Palestine. We will, undoubtedly, for some

time, be subjected to ridicule, and we will, moreover, have to struggle with numerous difficulties while working for this aim. We might come to hear from our own brethren a repetition of the words of Sanballat the Horonite: "What are these poor Jews doing? Will they be permitted? Will they ever accomplish it?" etc.—*Nehemiah* iii., 34. But are we to get dispirited by a joke, or disheartened by difficulties? Our whole path, during the course of nearly two thousand years, has been strewn with ridicule and difficulties, and the genius of Israel still lives! Our ancestors in the time of Nehemiah were less developed and very small in number; but with what energy did they build the wall of Jerusalem? "They which builded on the wall, and they that bare burdens, with those that laded, everyone with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon. For the builders, everyone had his sword girded by his side, and so builded. . . . So neither I, nor my brethren, nor my servants, nor the men of the guard which followed me, none of us put off our clothes, saving that every one put them off for washing."—*Ibid* iv., 17, *ad fin.* With such difficulties did they struggle. . . . And we will have no occasion to fight! Absolute independence is not at all so essential a condition for our happiness. What we at present need is not the walls of Jerusalem, nor the reconstruction of the temple, but our own corner; we need the *land* of Palestine, we need there an established and durable centre, and, finally, we need energy and activity, which we do possess, therefore, TO WORK! . . .



OUR NATIONAL WORK.

I.

Fate makes of us that which we ourselves desire to be—say those philosophers who see in fate not a capricious, self-willed tyrant, but a chain of measures and actions, of preparations and deeds of an individual or a company, out of which exactly such and no other consequences result. The Talmudical saying—“If you are told. I strove but did not succeed—do not believe him.” Also the Hebrew proverb,—“There is no difficulty which cannot be overcome by the will”—are in accordance with the above-mentioned view of fate.

It is clear that if we Hebrews suffer, for so many centuries, every manner of oppression, and are forced to wander from one land to another, nowhere finding a rest, not even compassion : serving only as fuel to fires, and captives for prisons, to be robbed by the masses, and insulted by the quasi-intelligent classes, it is only our own fault, our own handicraft. If fate turned us into pariahs, then it but made us such as *we ourselves desired to be*.

I do not intend to discuss here our ancient and not far-sighted ancestors, who, in consequence of some intrigue, divided, after the death of Solomon, the Hebrew Kingdom in two, known hereafter as the kingdoms of Israel and of Judah, which continually carried on fruitless and destructive wars against each other, ever diminishing and weakening themselves, until each kingdom separately fell a prey to strange nations. Nor will I enlarge on the fault committed by our ancestors of a later period, who, like true offsprings of Terah the Bedouin, clinging fast to the principle—“*Ubi bene, ibi patria*”; “Where I am well off there is my fatherland”; who, even after the re-establishment of Judea, continued to live in great numbers in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Asia Minor, and anywhere else, thus neglecting their own mother country, and allowing it to remain weak and small in number, until it bled nearly to death under the rude feast of the rapacious Roman. . . No, I intend to speak of our more recent progenitors, of the Hebrews in the mediæval ages, and those of more modern times. They created for themselves and their descendants the fate which they themselves desired.

And was there really throughout the lapse of 1,400 years not one favourable moment of which the Jews could take advantage to return *en masse* to the Holy Land? Is it possible that the Jews who, when exiled from Spain, settled down in many cities then belonging to Turkey, could not move one step

farther and enter Palestine? The Sultan Selim, towards the decline of the sixteenth century, gave the city and province of Tiberias to Joseph Nassi, Duke of Naxos, who intended to people it with Jews; but the scheme was not put into practice. Why did they not then answer to his call?

And what good did the agitation of the masses do in the last few years? Tens of thousands emigrated to America, thousands flocked to Palestine. Unions were established, delegates deputed, causing a great amount of talk alike in public as in private. A meeting was to be convened in Kieff, and . . . all of a sudden, as if by magic, all, all vanished like a dream.

Well, then, does not all this tend to show that, like our parents, so we ourselves, their worthy offsprings, have ever been satisfied to be pariahs and outcasts? And we are even in love with our present gipsy-like state, or else we would feel bound to look out for an end to this precarious existence. Yet we are offended when our enemies call us by this name—gipsies! Why should we feel insulted by such an appellation? Is our national feeling, the attachment to our historical fatherland, and the wish to possess the means for a sound and natural life more developed, more prevailing with us than with the gipsies? And are we not even worse than they are? They have no history and no historical fatherland; hence the craving for a national life is not felt by them; but we? . . . Both—our friends and foes—point out to us the land of our fathers, and we do not want even to hear of it. We find all sorts of excuses for doing anything except to return to the existence we once enjoyed, and prefer a life of misery and contempt as *aliens* to a life of freedom as sons of our people.

Truly fate formed us into such beings as we ourselves desired to be.

But as the opponents to the colonisation of Palestine and to our restoration most assuredly have their reasons for it, it is, therefore, an incumbent duty upon the friends of the National Idea to argue with them in the hope of showing them their mistakes, and dispelling their illusions, and thus perhaps these optimists might be brought to meditate seriously on our position, and there might be awakened within their hearts a *longing* for a sound, natural, national life, and then—fate will make of us *that which we long to be*.

The opponents of our National Idea are chiefly of two classes, one of which is thoughtlessly trampling down any attempt for the amelioration of our position in the way of emigration; the others are avowed enemies to the National Idea. To the former belong the majority of our wealthy brethren, who did not suffer from the riots, which are by them

held to be a mere incident, hardly worth the thought, and not having the least notion of the poverty and affliction of their people, but continuing to live without trouble, can by no means comprehend whence all this tumult arose. They imagine that only idlers and loungers, who find nothing else to do, commenced to speak of an Idea of Nationality, or, as one of our periodicals satirically expressed itself, "The youth demands Palestine"; and as all such undertakings would call for money, terrifying visions presented themselves to their imagination, in the shape of appeals for assistance.

To the other party belongs that section of the aristocracy who are Russians in Russia, Poles in Poland, Germans in Germany, &c. These assimilators, who are connected with Judaism only through registrations of birth as such, and through the two condemning words well-known in Russian law, "except Jews," sing to us sweet songs of peace. The riots—thus they try to persuade us—are not dangerous at all. Our people survived worse periods; but the light of civilisation and humanity will finally illumine the whole world, dispelling all darkness, *i.e.*, the differences of nationalities invented by man, and then Anti-Semitism is bound to disappear; or, using quite a different theory, they maintain that Jews are not a nation, but a religious sect, and consequently cannot expect an independent existence. Others, again, consider anything in the way of a revival of the hopes of Israel—even the establishment of colonies in Palestine—as mere dreams; nay, as a disregard to the laws of their native land. Let us see how far both these parties are right—the well-to-do people and the stoical philosophers.

II.

The indigency of the Jewish masses, which almost amounts to beggary, is known to all who looked into their mode of life in the circuit of their habitation; and is proved by the following facts, taken at random from innumerable articles which have appeared in the press upon the subject.

Balta.—"To a superficial observer, especially a stranger who visits this city for the first time, the number of shops he will meet with will be a matter of surprise. But on examining it a little more carefully, he will feel equally astonished at the hardly imaginable smallness of their wants. A family of 7—8 souls consumes half a pound of meat, and that not every day in the week. The cottages in which they live bear more resemblance to stables than to human habitations, and in dwellings

containing 2 or 3 rooms, 3 or 4 families have to find shelter. Nor do the citizens enjoy a better mode of life."—*Russky Evrey*. 1881. No. 7.

Berditchew.—"The foremost question with us now is the 'bread question.' I myself know of several families who are almost starving. It would be but right that the wealthier of our people in the city should again, as they did last year, open flour stores for selling it to poor people at reduced prices. What an awful impression the miserable-looking cottages make upon one! The window-panes are patched up with paper. (This was written in March, when the cold is there still severe). The clothing of the unfortunate, though respectable, people looks much like rags. Their children are pale, emaciated, and weak."—*Razsvet*. 1881. No. 8.

Bobrowsk.—"The exorbitant prices for all necessities bring almost starvation, and are yet daily on the increase. The poor here, especially the Jews, suffer greatly. The death rate is greater than usual."—*Ibid*. 1880. No. 4.*

Some reader might say that all the misfortunes here described are but incidents, chances happening once or twice in a century. Such an idea would be greatly erroneous.

It is well known that Russia did not suffer in the year 1881 from scarcity; there was only a rise in the prices, which is not so bad when trade is not depressed. But as the Jews are overcrowded in their "pale of settlement," and as almost all of them are either small traders or working-men, the supply is considerably greater than the demand. That, and that alone, is the real cause of the destitution and continual suffering of the Jewish masses, and the least rise in the prices of victuals exposes the poorer classes to extreme want. If they were not so overcrowded and suffering from lack of employment, an occasional rise in the prices would not make such havoc amongst them.

All these groans heard in those bitter times from numerous Jewish communities in Russia, who almost perished from hunger, and the illnesses which follow on its track—as it seems—were not sufficient, when a dark, terrible crime was perpetrated in the capital. Alexander II. fell by the hands of murderers, the Minister of the Interior, Count Melikoff, gave place to Count Ignatieff; and the fanatics of Russia, who would greedily swallow up all mankind, felt, to use their own phrase, a holiday in their street, and as if in answer to some mysterious call, and on somebody's account, a host of barbarians from the north, swept over the land for the "assertion of the national spirit," and thus began the *riots*.

* The author cites many more correspondences from different sources, descriptive of the great sufferings of the Jews at that time. But I would rather spare the public from reading such heart-rending scenes.—TRANSLATOR.

III.

"The riots!" How many horrors in that short word! Trembling hearts, robbed property, people made beggars, assaults, premature confinements, outraged women and assassinations!

Thousands of Jews suddenly found themselves without a shirt or a mouthful of bread, whilst tens of thousands were ruined by its consequent failures and standstill in business. The lives of many families were poisoned for ever, not only by assassination of relatives, but also by outrages on women. Not only were girls, outraged by the "kind-natured" rioters, rejected by their intended ones, but even married women had to leave their homes for ever. The Jewish law requires a Cohen, a descendant of Aaron, to divorce an outraged wife, whilst the rioters hardly took the trouble of ascertaining that point.

The fire riots, that is to say, numberless arsons, where open outrages were not convenient, were as pernicious as the high-way riots; and these conflagrations made still more lurid the terrible picture of Jewish poverty.

They were closely followed by the paper disturbances; the robbed and ruined Jews of Kief were ordered to leave at once that holy city, and the same took place in many other towns and villages. But where could these unhappy exiles go?

Were they to go to the destroyed and burned towns of the Jewish "zone," already overfilled with hungry victims? They only had two ways before them: suicide or abroad, where there are no rioters, no incendiaries, nor zone of residence. Self-preservation pointed to the latter way, and then began the last scourge, emigration.

Of all our wanderings from country to country, hardly any had such sad consequences as the last emigration. On former occasions the rich used to help the poor, and the calamity was general. This time it was otherwise. Whether, through excess of patriotism or through want of charity, our grandees decided in congress to "leave the emigrants alone." The emigrants therefore sold their property, for perhaps 10 per cent. of their value, to Christians, whilst the emigration itself, unorganised as it was, suffered a complete fiasco. Worn out and exhausted by all sorts of privations at Brody, London, and America, they were returned wholesale into the Russian "zone of residence," where they are still destitute of all necessities.

But everything must end, at least for a time. With the accession of Count Tolstoi, as home secretary, the secret spring for raising the national spirit was stopped at last, and the source

of rioters thus dried up. Emigration also stopped, partly through failure, partly through momentary peace. There only remained the paper atrocities, but they are more terrible than all the preceding riots. They "brought the Jews systematically to the position of a camp of gipsies," and made it impossible for Jews to earn a living, in accordance with the famous dogma of well-known journalists, who want "to make life for the Jews a burden, and their stay uncomfortable." Since, owing to the "temporary rules," public-houses are forbidden to Jews, and their commerce is restricted by a free interpretation of the same rules, whilst to education and to the medical profession only a percentage is admitted; why, then, should the Jews not form at least 2 per cent. of agricultural labourers and tenants, as, after all, they, too, are men? But no, the Jews are continually turned out of the villages by superior order or communal decision.

All the endeavours of Nicolas I. to remove the Jews from the villages remained fruitless, as, in the long run, the Government perceived the impracticability of such a measure. But then we had to deal with the law, which takes the circumstances into consideration; but now we have to deal with riots, which know nothing but destruction.

This is the principle of the paper atrocities: exemplified in the temporary rules; in their wide interpretation; in restricting the number of Jewish surgeons in the army; in refusing them appointments under the provincial councils; in diminishing the number of Jewish students; in evicting them from the villages; in refusing them Government contracts; in prohibiting Jewish chemists from opening new shops; in the removal of Jewish engine-drivers, clerks, and female teachers, who were replaced by Christians, even in Jewish colleges and boarding-schools, etc., etc.

The result is a most gloomy and desperate picture, where one sees the pale faces of the half-naked sufferers, the aborigines of the "zone," close to them the better dressed and fed persons, who had been removed from the interior provinces and from the villages, but who are now inhabitants of the zone, destined to every possible privations; next to them the dismissed teachers, engineers, clerks, publicans, etc.; at a certain distance the former tenants, contractors, etc., eating up their last crumbs and competing with the old dealers for the last piece of bread, as well as the doctors and chemists out of place; whilst to all of them the robbed and returned emigrants are stretching out their hands! It is true we know all that, and still we sit idly, without taking care of the morrow, except, perhaps, still paying regularly to the now absurd agricultural fund!

Indeed, a few years ago, Jewish journalists, including myself,

strongly advocated the foundation of agricultural colonies—in Russia, of course—as a means of saving the Jewish masses from starvation. In commemoration of the twenty-five years' reign of the late Alexander II., Mr. S. S. Polakoff did really establish a "Fund for spreading agriculture and handicrafts among Jews," to which the Jews contributed, during the one summer of 1880, the sum of 200,000 roubles, and but for the subsequent riots and calamities, the fund might have doubled or tripled. It was thought then that an end would be put to starvation, liquor-selling, and degrading trades, by establishing agricultural colonies in Russia, and by sending Jewish artisans into the interior provinces. But now came the temporary rules and enactments, which turned the fund into dead capital, whose interest cannot be utilised. Legal prohibitions have made Jewish agriculture in Russia an impossibility and a dream, whilst emigrating artisans are liable to arbitrary expulsion.

The "fund" thus became a magical treasure, without use to anybody; but our philanthropists are so naïve that they still go on increasing this useless dead capital.

Meanwhile, the poverty of the masses, and the impoverishment of the wealthy, go on *crescendo*, accompanied by crimes, mortality, and all horrors.

And what are we to do with our young generation? Few of them are admitted to schools, in which they are, moreover, degraded, and, after completing which they get no situations. Artisans, salesmen, and small dealers we have too many already, whilst the "rules" prohibit agriculture. Where, then, is the issue?

Why should we not establish such colonies as were intended for Russia in Palestine, which is the nearest available country, and possesses the sympathy of the Jewish masses? How long shall we wait in vain for better times, before the coming of which the half of our population must die with starvation? And will such times come at all in the near future, and must we not expect rather an aggravation of our condition, considering the progress of Anti-Semitism in Europe? Our official advocates, it is true, exhaust themselves in endeavours to prove to the Russian public the inhumanity, absurdity, and loss to the country of keeping a population of four millions out of air and livelihood. But the Russian public do not read our organs, and, besides, has not the Jewish question been placed with us on a national basis, where all utilitarian considerations are ignored? Questions of gain and loss are moreover shifting. According to the *Golos*, the production of spirits has increased by sixty per cent. in the non-Jewish zone, whilst it has diminished by eight per cent. in the Jewish zone. Such profits, derived from diminishing

the number of Jewish public-houses, compensates the Government for losses accruing from other restrictions. Nor must we expect anything from the empty words of humanity, civilisation, etc. Our condition gets worse every day, and the only safe means against total destitution is the colonisation of Palestine.

IV.

Thus far I have only considered the economical side of the question, which is the only interesting one to degraded slaves without a *point d'honneur*. who look at nothing but the preservation of their miserable existence. But the matter becomes quite different, more important, and elevated from the *human* point of view, when addressing *men*, to whom their human dignity is much more important than the petty interests of their stomach.

For more than two thousand years we have been nearly always persecuted by whole nations. Even during the miserable existence of Judea, we were persecuted by the Greeks in Egypt, where we were strangers, as we are everywhere now; we were persecuted by Roman Christians, during the Crusades; at the time of the Black Death in Spain; by the Cossacks, and are still persecuted from time to time. At each outbreak we fall like flies; the sword, fire, and mob-justice exterminated us by hundreds of thousands, so that, in spite of our thirty-five centuries existence, we hardly amount to eight millions, whilst the youngest nations count by tens of millions.

There is no prospect of an end to these slaughters and expulsions, and we still refuse to leave the vulcano which is burning under our feet! We naïvely console ourselves by saying: "No matter, the Jews have suffered more, but they have not perished." But is it a joy for all the Jews that had been burned, slaughtered and exterminated, that the Jews will still continue to suffer infernal pains? Will it console you in your death-agony, under the knife of an Anti-Semitical foe, that the "wandering Jew" will err on without rest? And who of us is safe from a violent death in case of repeated riots, as it occurred both with us and in Hungary. But leaving alone such exceptional cases, let us have a look at the life and condition of Jews in those countries where they are already emancipated, and we will find that even there they are degraded, as Jews, who are the only people capable of being satisfied with such a life owing to their loss of the sense of national dignity, and to their having been made, through centuries, slaves and gipsies.

The life of the Jews is *nowhere* normal and natural, nor can it be so. Every nation lives on its land, and divides the population into physical and mental labourers, in proportion to its natural riches and internal forces, whilst we who entered each land after its division of wealth and labour between the original inhabitants, are condemned everywhere to feed on air. Our educated class, living on mental labour, is out of proportion to that class which lives on physical labour, which, however, is equally precarious. Somebody has therefore truly described us as a huge body resting on a fowl's feet, which is of course unnatural.

Then we are everywhere expected to dance, like a tame bear, at everybody's order. The French, as Roman Catholics, object to divorce, and the same is not allowed to Jews, who have nothing to do with Catholicism. Some scoundrels, who perhaps use cruelly their servants and working-men, whilst protecting animals, find that Jewish slaughtering (*shechita*) is opposed to their invented or modern principles of humanity, and they propose to prohibit the slaughtering of cattle according to Jewish ritual, and are answered by arguments to the contrary. Is not all this humiliating? Supposing the "*shechita*" is really more painful than some new method, are the Jews therefore to renounce their religion, or to create a new one? Which is more cruel, to cause a few *moments* of pain to a slaughtered animal, or to deprive a whole race of meat *for life*? The momentary interests of already bleeding animals are thus more cared for than the permanent interests of millions of Jews.

The Jews must not have an opinion of their own. Gladstone objects to their Conservatism: Bismarck to their Liberalism. The Czechs threaten the Jews with riots for want of patriotism, and want them to oppose the Germans, who want them to oppose the Czechs and Poles. And we Jews have the slavish patience of listening with indifference to these trivial reproaches!

Is it not humiliating enough for the Jews that they have often to shed their blood in wars, not undertaken in the interests of their country, but for considerations of race and religion which have nothing to do with the Jews, who are neither Arians nor Christians? What business had, for instance, the Jewish soldiers of Napoleon III. to defend Rome against the Italians for the benefit of the Pope? If Bismarck were to discover some affinity between the Germans and the "oppressed" Irishmen, and would free them from the English yoke, even without any benefit for Germany, tens of thousands of Jews, having nothing to do with such exclusively racial sympathies, would have to perish in such a war. And we have but lately seen such instances. . . .

I do not blame for it the European nations. They are at home, and need not make exceptions for us. In this respect there are no Jews for them ; our religion, race, and sympathies are nothing to them ; but it is rather humiliating for our dignity.

For the last six hundred years we try in vain to persuade Europe that we eat no human flesh, drink no Christian blood, and we are not at all excited by this infamy which has cost us so many victims ! And we are happy when some non-Jewish scholar testifies that we really make no paschal dishes out of human blood ! Oh, shame, oh, infamy ! Almost on our knees we listen to every possible libel : we have done to death the saints ; we stole hosts, poisoned wells, assassinated children ; we are socialists, exploiters ; we dislike work, we grasp everything, we are ignorant, we hold the press ; we are atheists, zealots, fanatics ; a plague, beetles, parasites ; we conquer the whole world, etc., etc. In answer to these accusations we defend ourselves slavishly before our deaf judges. We translate our literary documents to show our convictions and actions, to prove that we are honest men, that we must not be murderers, deceivers, and law-breakers. Our lawyers and statisticians demonstrate that we are as profitable as milking-cows and woolly sheep. Our sages tell us that we are step-children, must not provoke anyone, and must bow to everybody ; and we don't feel even disturbed by this eternal sitting in the dock, by the constant obligation of defending ourselves against invented crimes, by the part of milking cows, nor by the consciousness of being step-children, and do not understand the revolting absurdity of it.

Can historical countries die ? Has the cradle of our nation disappeared from the face of the earth, that we should be step-children ? Our ancient country has not yet adopted any other nation, and, though it is partly occupied by Arabs, it still can be gradually bought out. No, we are not step-children, but vagrants and beggars, who, having been once turned out from our destroyed home, are too lazy to build it anew, and find it more easy to intrude upon the inhabitants of other houses. Though we consider ourselves to be the most able and clever nation, we have neither sufficient intelligence nor cleverness to live a bearable human life !

We are not even disgusted by our position ; quite the reverse. We flatter our persecutors. The Hungarian Jews want religion and Talmud in Jewish schools to be taught in the Hungarian language. The Warsaw Jews affect Polish names, and call themselves Poles of the Mosaic persuasion ; and in a certain Talmud Thora school the number of Hebrew lessons is still more diminished, in favour of non-Jewish subjects.

Our own educated men tell us: "We are not yet sufficiently assimilated to the European nations; "we have still some Jewish qualities in our character," etc.; to which some of our friends reply: "We should be glad to amalgamate, but we are repelled"; as if we really should amalgamate with others, and wipe ourselves off the face of the earth.

Indeed, we are required to do no less. Even our advocates and imaginary friends do not wish our national existence. Professor Mommsen advises us to embrace Christianity as a means of self-extermination; whilst the patriot Koszut, who considers us as useful allies against Austria, advises us to disappear by means of mixed marriages. All the liberal and enlightened members of the Hungarian Parliament lately expressed their confidence in the entire amalgamation of the Hungarian Jews with the Magyars.

And no wonder. Our interests are never considered. We are only recognised as Jews for purposes of persecution. Outrages on our sacred scrolls are not considered blasphemous. We cannot dispose of the balance from the tax on kosher meat collected from our poor. Our colleges for teachers and Rabbis are exclusively managed by Christians, so that many pupils may be Rabbis and Hebrew teachers without any knowledge of Hebrew; whereas our greatest Hebraists and Talmudists are debarred from that right through their ignorance of Russian, arithmetic, geometry, etc., though compulsory education does not exist in Russia.

And how foolishly we explain all our misfortunes and persecutions. Our fathers explained them by God's anger for unknown, imaginary, and foolish sins, as some irregularity in prayer. We, their enlightened children of the nineteenth century, explain them by the caprice of agitators and Jew-haters. Supposing it to be so, are we better off, then, when the life and peace of some four millions of Jews in Russia, the honour of our wives and daughters, and our property depend on the disposition of some author or public man? But was it so? Did not Russian society approve the rioters through its press, administrators, and magistrates, imputing their wickedness to the suffering and humiliated victims? Did any members of Russian society show their sympathy by an important contribution for the benefit of the robbed and ruined Russian subjects? But how can we speak of caprice in Russia when Anti-Semites of various countries assemble openly in congress for claiming our expulsion from Europe?

But we like to deceive ourselves. Besides our misfortunes, we also misinterpret the meaning of an occasional or interested smile, for which we are ready to lose our personality, to ape sickeningly, to sacrifice even our good qualities and endeavour to be pure Arians, though it is quite impossible for us.

Whilst trying to force our nature, we also want to hide our existence. We are glad not to be spoken of : honoured by our existence not being recognised. Indeed, we praise the humanity and wisdom of the ruler who answered the question as to the number of Jews by saying : " I have no Jews, but Frenchmen." We are ashamed of our Jewish origin, we curse our fate for having been born in wretched Judaism, whose connection, however, we are unable to break !

And we consent to all this !

No, we pride ourselves in vain on Moses, the Maccabees, Spinoya, and others. They were great men, but we . . . Had we been dignified men, we would try to live like worthy men, and would attain our purpose. But, miserable slaves as we are, we put up with all degradations to earn a bit of bread.

What a shame !

V.

But we do not lose courage. In our hell of torments we place our hope in the straw called *civilisation*, just as our ancestors placed theirs in a supernatural Messiah, having lost faith in their own strength. The choice depends on the condition of their intelligence. The ignorant ones prefer the traditional Messiah, the educated ones, modern civilisation. But they both agree in their own helplessness, and expect salvation from outside. But will civilisation free us from a shameful and martyr-like life ? This question must, in my opinion, be answered negatively.

For nearly two thousand years we have been hated *instinctively*. Our enemies did not know, themselves, the reason of their hatred, and therefore gave it different explanations in different times, according to different parties and leading ideas. The very religious see in us the enemies of Christianity, though we never make proselytes, and therefore are indifferent to the creeds of other nations. The Talmud is condemned by people who never saw it. A regrettable misunderstanding, of which no nation or tribunal is free, is imputed to us as a historical crime. Socrates was innocently executed, John Huss was burnt, and many others ; thousands were executed for witchcraft, etc., and nobody is accused of it but human foolishness. But when some Jewish tribunal, through error or Roman pressure, executed one of their countrymen, a Jewish subject, who when alive did not even possess the social condition of a Socrates, the event is considered as an eternal historical crime. As if the whole Jewish nation is for ever responsible for the error of its tribunal, or as

it the latter could act otherwise for no other reason than that the victim would *in a few centuries* gain the highest importance among nations hardly known to that tribunal.

But we have many other sins. The cosmopolitans see in us narrow nationalists, with a tribal God and a national religion ; whilst the nationalists see in us cosmopolitans, whose country is where they live well. The pious think us irreligious ; the Freethinkers, fanatical ; the Liberals, Conservative ; the Conservatives, Liberal. Some statesmen and authors see in us the root of sedition ; whilst the anarchists see in us capitalists, with an old civilisation based on slavery and exploitation. The officials accuse us of defeating the laws, those, of course, which are exclusively directed against us. This charge, however, may be proved by our history. The mother of Moses did not throw him into the river according to Pharaoh's law, but hid him till after the revision. We are even charged of crimes against art. Musicians like Richard Wagner accuse us of distorting music. In short, everyone sees in us the enemies of his favourite hobby. Even our virtue is made a vice : "the Jews commit no murders and suicides because they are cowards" ; which, however, does not prevent our being accused of assassination for religious purposes.

This maze of contradictions and the confusion of the crimes imputed to us, together with our supposed responsibility for all calamities, proves clearly that the hate towards us is merely instinctive, and thus incurable. The end of the nineteenth century, which is so rich in discoveries, has revealed to us the secret of this implacable instinctive hatred, namely : that *we are everywhere strangers*, not only of alien nationality, but also of alien *race*, whilst our number as strangers is excessive for the aborigines. This is proved by the new term of Anti-Semitism, and the now official expression of "Hebrew extraction," instead of the old "Judaic persuasion."

And though civilisation could save us for a short time from religious persecutions, it offers no remedy against persecution of a national character. Civilisation and progress demand for everybody the right of inner conviction and future salvation according to his own faith, and therefore condemn religious hatred ; but they cannot demand that a stranger should be adopted into a family with equal rights. It is true there is an insignificant and criminal fraction, for which *at present* there are neither own, nor strangers, but only labourers and producers. But should that fraction ever realise their fancy for a moment, *the Jews shall never live to see it*. It is certain that during the popular rage incited by that fraction *nearly all the Jews will be slaughtered* as imaginary capitalists, and as an eternal scape-goat, offering to everybody a convenient lightning-

conductor. . . . This must be borne in mind, both by our self-called benefactors of humanity and by our careless anti-Palestinians.

As long as there will remain nations, or even various religious, political, and economical tendencies, in which different races rarely agree : in short, unless the whole world be turned into an Arcadia, and all humanity into a happy flock of sheep, without individual variations,—there shall remain natives and strangers, and no civilisation can make them equal.

There can be no complete equality between natives and strangers, as it is contrary to human nature, against which all progress is powerless. Human character takes no account of written laws. The same great Law-giver who ordained : “One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you.”—(*Num.* xv. 16) ; or, “The stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself.”—(*Lev.* xix. 34) ; the same Law-giver uses the following threat : “The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high ; and thou shalt come down very low.”—(*Deut.* xxviii. 43). There is the law and the human feeling. The first makes no difference between native and stranger, whilst the other revolts at the high position of a stranger. And where is the nation all members of which are prosperous ? The unfortunate millions of natives will always look with envy on the better fate of hundreds or thousands of strangers, and every native will ever be jealous of a stranger who is more successful. Such is human nature, not to be changed by civilisation. Rather the reverse ; civilisation and progress are even conducive to such movements as Anti-Semitism.

The views of Old Testament civilisation on national territories are quite opposed to those of Roman civilisation. Considering that “the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam”—(*Deut.* xxxii. 8), Old Testament civilisation recognises for every nation the complete and inalienable right of property to its territory—(*ibid* ii. 4, 5, 9) ; and notwithstanding the victories of Moses, David, and Hyrcan I., the Jews never made conquests, for only the land of Canaan had been given by God to Israel, according to his oath to Abraham. Roman civilisation is quite cosmopolitan ; though it protects private property it disposes freely of whole foreign countries. It does not care for nations and their property, and where territory is concerned it makes no difference between “Greek and Jew.” This spirit ruled during the middle ages down to our own century, and, based on cosmopolitanism and the right of the strongest, created such States as Austria, Switzerland, the Church State, Turkey, down to

the Napoleonic conquests. But with the liberation of Greece, history entered into a new phase. *The national Old Testament civilisation has triumphed.* After Greece came Hungary, Italy, Germany, and the Balkan nations. And this law of history will work on; and when it will take its final effect, and territories will be divided by national right of property, then the word of the prophet shall be fulfilled: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—(*Isaiah* ii. 4). For nowadays no wars are undertaken where there is no chance of annexation. Then only brotherly union between independent nations will become possible, which could not be obtained by the humanity and progress of a plundering civilisation. Then only, under cover of an eternal peace, will the complete internal development of every individual nation take place.

The national movement is no reaction, then, but civilisation itself—true progress, destined to do away with wars in the end, to direct humanity through its various nationalities on the way of internal progress and mutual union. But this civilisation is the very soil on which Anti-Semitism grows, just as evil weeds grow on a fruitful field—since there are no roses without thorns, nor good without evil. Anti-Semitism is the dark but necessary side of our modern beneficent civilisation, which cannot remove its own shadow, but, on the contrary, increases it. That is why Anti-Semitism, the ugly but inevitable fruit of civilisation, makes such rapid progress. When, some three years ago, Marr first came forward with his Anti-Semitic tendencies, we all laughed at him, ridiculed his attempts, maintained that he came four hundred years too late. But in less than four years Anti-Semitism has spread through the whole of Europe, with petitions, riots, congresses, parliamentary speeches, etc., etc. And what will come next? The Austrian Attorney-General Holubek stated that in ten years' time it will be possible to confine the Jews to certain localities, to impose on them a tax of toleration, etc.; and I think he is right. . . .

Though modern barbarism is more polished than the old, our position is even more dangerous. In former times persecution was local, and the Jews could find refuge in a new place where the Jews were still wanted as traders. But now the press and the spread of commerce among the European nations make our persecutions universal and endless. And where can we find a refuge? Did England and France receive even one-thousandth part of our last year's emigrants? And in those countries there is no Anti-Semitism yet, for should they renounce cosmopolitanism, France would have to forget her

claims on Alsace and Lorraine, whilst England would have to give up Ireland, Egypt, etc. But dying cosmopolitanism is not likely to live long even with them. What, then, awaits us in the future? It is even terrible to think of it!

VI.

All this proves that we must cease to be strangers, and live, like other people, our own national life. The idea of nationality, which is the source of our misfortunes, may and must become our saviour. We must use all our efforts to become a normal nationality instead of universal pariahs. I don't mean the political independence of the Jewish nation; but we must have a home, and live on our historical land, leaving the future to God and history.

We have not lost yet the right to our historical land, notwithstanding the length of time, since it is not considered long enough to recognise us as natives in Europe. All the more so, as our land is not yet occupied by others, and is nearly deserted; nor did we ever renounce our hope of return, as is proved by our twelfth religious dogma, by all our prayers, and all our past. It is true, we are removed from our historical soil, *but we must correct this sad error of our fathers!*

It is difficult, but every struggle for existence is hard, and since every individual is subject to this eternal struggle, why should a whole nation be free from it? No nation can escape this law of nature and history. There is only one beggar-people, the gipsies, who have no idea of a national struggle for existence. But if we want to be like them, then we must not protest when we are not admitted to the family-table, and are turned out like beggars.

But here we meet with an absurdity, of German invention. The followers of Mendelssohn deny Judaism as a nationality: "A nation," they say, "is determined by territory, language, etc.; the Jews don't possess it, and form no nation, but merely a religious sect. With regard to nationality they belong to those nations in the midst of which they live; the German Jews being Germans, the Jews of France being Frenchmen, etc." What a foolish, abominable, and hypocritical self-denial! According to this, two Jewish brothers, one of whom lives in Russia, whilst the other had settled in France, would belong to two different nations! A man living successively in five or six different countries, getting naturalised in and speaking the language of each of them, would belong at different times to different nations! Nationality is, then, a coat, which can be

changed at every opportunity. Nationality would not exist then at all !

Mendelssohn could well do so, as in his time nationality was identified with state. Even later on Metternich said that Italy was only a term of geography. But to repeat such nonsense nowadays, when the Italians and other nations have proved the fallacy of Metternich's views, means to be an incorrigible Philistine or a desperate hypocrite.

But who denies the Jewish nationality? Besides those who are ready to sell their nationality and history for the smile of a Pole or a German, the Jews themselves never ceased to consider themselves as a nation. This is proved by numerous prayers composed after the dispersion. Our enemies also consider us as a nation. The Biblical Anti-Semite Haman tells the king Xerxes : "There is one *people dispersed and scattered* among the nations in all the provinces of thy kingdom"—(*Esther* iii., 8). His disciples, the modern Anti-Semites, show by their very name that they consider us as a separate nation, not belonging to their nationality. Those of us who call ourselves, in spite of this, by the name of those nations, reckon therefore without the host. They cover themselves with the German nationality, whilst being persecuted for belonging to another nationality. They imagine to remove the evil by turning away their eyes from it, like an ostrich. It is really surprising how learned men can imagine to acquire something which can only be gained by relationship of blood. Race and tribe, or origin, form the principal element of nationality, and it is pure contradiction to say that Semitic Jews are real Germans of Arian race, or Poles of Slavonic stock, or Hungarians of Mongolian race, merely because they happened to come to Germany, Poland, or Hungary, and to master the language of those countries. Human foolishness cannot go further than to maintain such a thing as Semitic Arians, Chaldee or Hebrew Teutons and Slavs, or Caucasian Mongols.

No, brethren ! you don't belong to the German, Polish, and other nations ; you are prevented from it by your Semitic origin, and by your masters, whom you so slavishly flatter. Nor do you belong to the Jewish nationality, since you deny Judaism as a nation. Thus, are you then illegitimate children of the human race, or gipsies of the Mosaic persuasion ?

Had our German wise men lived in Persia, under Cyrus, they would have told that monarch that, since the Jews were scattered over Asia and Africa without a language of their own (*Nehem.* xiii., 3). they form no nation, and therefore must not be restored to Palestine as such. But, fortunately, there were no such Philistines, the Jews were restored to the land of their fathers, where they acquired territory, language, and

all other exterior attributes of a nation ; thus showing that people forming a real nation, that is to say, relationship of blood and the desire of living a natural life, can acquire even the almost artificial attributes of a nation, as territory, language, etc. Get a national hearth, and you will then have your own land, idioms, and all the specific attributes of a nation.

But why go back to ancient history, when there is a recent instance at hand. Had our wise men from Germany been asked as to the nationality of the Alsatians and Lorrainers fifteen years ago, they would have pronounced them to be French ; but being asked the same question now, they would pronounce them to be Germans.

The other half of the doctrine of our German philosophers and Rabbis, which maintains that "Judaism is nothing but a religious sect," is equally absurd. Why, then, do they call themselves Jews, since the majority of these Rabbis and preachers believes in nothing whatever. What is there in common between the Jewish reformers, who have removed nearly the whole ceremonial side of Mosaicism, and the ignorant Polish Chassidim, who almost worship their Zadik ? Still, they showed their sympathy for them during the riots, whilst remaining indifferent to the Slavonic Sabbatarians or Judaisants when they were persecuted some thirty years ago, though they resemble so much the Jews in their religion. Why are Jewish atheists, and even honest converts to Christianity, more appalled than any other benevolent men by outrages on Jews, even in remote countries, whilst they do not take more interest in the sufferings of Bulgarians, Irishmen, etc., than other civilised people ? Does it not prove that the Jews instinctively feel themselves to be a nation ? And this very instinct prevents all the Jews who deny both their nationality and religion to part finally with Judaism. That is why Jews hate most their deserters, in whom they see not only traitors to religion, but to their nation.

To avoid the logical necessity of finally parting with Judaism, our Philistines have invented another absurdity, namely, a universal mission for Judaism, thus transporting the question into the region of pure absurdity and mysticism, where there is neither logic nor reason, and therefore discussion is impossible.

History has no intentional preparations for definite purposes, but eternal laws, whose effects are only to be found in the results. Darwin and his servant were born alike without any fatal destiny ; and it is only now that we can admit that the one did not live without use for mankind, or, to put it mystically, the one had a mission, and the other had not. The same applies to nations, some of which have made discoveries and inventions,

whilst others have not. All this clearly refers to what had been done already by some nation, and not to what it is still going to do, since the future belongs to all nations and individuals alike. Though the Phœnicians were the first traders and seafarers, we cannot suppose however that, were they to exist still, they would have been the first to invent the telegraph and steam-engines. Monotheism is supposed to be the mission of the Jews, though the Jews themselves can hardly agree with it, since they do not recognize that form of monotheism, which is said to be their mission, and was not spread at all by orthodox Jews, but by such as had left Judaism ; and to offer something to the world that one rejects himself with all his might is a bad mission indeed. But what right have we at any rate to convince ourselves and others that we shall also do something in the *future*, whilst we could do nothing for our supposed mission since our loss of independence in Judea and a few Arabian principalities? Whether it be because "the poor man's wisdom is despised"—(*Eccl.* ix. 16.), or because the Jews themselves have no more originality, or for other reasons ; certain it is that we have no right whatever to pride ourselves on some mission in the unknown future, especially in our dispersion, without national life, without an independent existence, whilst we are influenced in everything by the mode of life and thought of other nations. Such conceit is truly absurd.

It is true our Philistines quote the words of an unknown enthusiastic orator, whose speeches got somehow added to the prophecies of Isaiah, and who assured the Jews that they were destined by God to be "a light to the nations" (*Is.* xlix. 6) ; but why do they forget that the same orator combines this promise with the regeneration of the Jewish nationality for which he struggled with more zeal than all his contemporary poets. Yes, our mission, which Moses had never suspected, since he wished to separate his people from other nations, which God, according to him, intended to worship the heavenly lights—(*Deut.* iv. 19 ; xxxiii. 28 ; *Num.* xxiii. 9 ; *Josh.* xxii. 24—27) ; our mission, which we have, moreover, not executed in that sense which we consider the right one, is nothing but a mystic, groundless conceit. Our religion by whose name we must only call ourselves, according to these universal gipsies of the Mosaic persuasion, is already so weak, that for tens of thousands of us, especially for these very gipsies, it is but an empty sound. Besides, none of our enlightened ones can call his brethren of the Jewish masses his "co-religionists," since their beliefs are very different, and have hardly anything in common with his own. What, then, unites us, if not the innate, though weak and unrecognised, sense of nationality.

Yes, we are still a nation, and with all our common faults

inherited from our ancient Semitic and especially Jewish ancestors. The same extreme individualism, the same absence of national unity, the same criminal carelessness for future calamities, the same short-lived union under calamities already made inevitable, and the prompt dissolution of unity at the first moment of rest. In short, all the unpardonable faults of the Semites in general, and of the Jews in particular, which have been repeatedly pointed out by Prof. Chwolson, together with the want of system and order, observed by S. D. Luzatto. All this still exists with us, though we have been living for fifteen centuries among Arians, from whom we might have learned some union and order.

This Asiatic or Semitic laziness is the principal root of our revolting attitude with regard to our future. Formerly it consoled us with the hope in a monstrous, misunderstood Messiah; and now it has invented for its justification the absurdity of our not being a nation, but a religious sect, for which there can be no future, so that we might carelessly devote ourselves to our personal concerns, and idle quietly when all Judaism is in question.

The salvation of Israel, however, will not come from laziness. And salvation is so necessary! Without it life would have become a torment, and many indeed considered that something must be done.

VII.

But what are we to do? Where can we find the remedy for liberating the Jews at last from questions, discussions, accusations, and humiliating apologies, and for making them sure of the morrow? Instead of a direct answer to this accursed question; instead of pointing out to the Jews that they form an exception in the historical life of nations; that they live among other nations as a half settled and half nomadic nation; that exceptions are allowed in grammar, but not in history; that the Jews must therefore cease to be an exception, and must live a normal national life: instead of this only true answer, our European sages, preserving their Asiatic laziness, give such remedies as cannot be even called palliatives. Dr. Jellinek advises to meet "organisation with organisation"; that is to say, to write books in defence of the Jews and their religion. Naïve Germans! They want to write prescriptions for those who don't consider themselves ill! Will the German, Russian, and Hungarian Stöckers read a single page written in

defence of Jews? And what will answer those who accuse us of a real crime—of our Semitic origin? Or will they be base enough as to make use of Renan's invention, and deny their origin from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob? And what will they say to the accusations against individual Jews, for which all Jews must be responsible, according to the Jew-haters of all times and countries?

Still more foolish is the proposition of a Dr. Back to establish a Synhedrion as a remedy for all evils, as if the Jew-haters cared for the form of the Jewish religion. Did not the Anti-Semitic Congress of Dresden declare that the reformed Jews were still worse than the orthodox?

These, our friends, will not understand that our misfortune is not in the shape, but in the existence, of our religion, and in our Semitic character, both of which prevent us from being wiped off from the face of the earth, like the Phœnicians, Edomians, Assyrians, and other nations of antiquity.

A Talmudic proverb says: "When you come to a town, follow its customs"; whilst a Russian proverb tells us not to "enter a strange convent with our own rules." But we live on in strange convents, still sticking to our rules, though we do it only instinctively, *from a sense of self-preservation, without which our national existence would have inevitably perished.* But that makes no difference to the inhabitants of the convents. *There is the root of all our endless evils.* It is clear that for our salvation we must do one of the two things, *either leave the strange convent, or accept its rules. There is no middle way!*

The author of a foolish booklet, "Wir Juden," seems to have realised this; starting, on the one hand, from the fallacy that Judaism is no nation but a persuasion, for which there can be no future; and, on the other, from the true idea that external assimilation in dress, language, etc., without internal assimilation in religion, customs, character, etc., is only a self-deception, the author is said by the papers to recommend suffering Judaism to commit an act of national suicide by embracing other religions, no matter which, provided it be the religion of the particular locality. This author is quite consistent and sincere, but short-sighted. Besides its utter impossibility, such a wholesale conversion would have been quite useless, since these converts would be justly regarded as immoral Christ betrayers, selling their religion and conscience for earthly advantages, and all the measures of isolation now existing against the Jews would be rather increased against these Jewish Christians or heretics. Since, then, we cannot adopt the rules of the strange convents, we must leave them.

A good many have now arrived at this conclusion, though

they are not yet agreed in the selection of a place for our suffering people. Some prefer Palestine, some prefer America, whilst others have not made up their minds as to which country the preference is to be given. To the latter belongs also the esteemed author of "Auto-Emancipation." But I am certain that we shall not achieve anything in America, for the following reasons :—

Should we even succeed in obtaining a separate State in North America, that State shall never bear officially a Jewish name, but will only form part of the United States ; so that before all the world we shall still have nothing of our own. Most of the Jews will continue to live in other countries—and what about them ? The Jews are looked upon as worse than any other strangers, because, as the author of "Auto-Emancipation" has justly observed, the Jews are no guests capable of repaying hospitality at home ; but beggars, unable to reciprocate any service. And why should the Europeans respect their established or newly-arrived Jews, who will remain the same beggars as before in the eyes of all nations ? The Europeans shall not know of any Jewish country but the already familiar United States, which have nothing in common with Judaism. Besides, should the Yankees ever think fit to acquire the Jewish landed property, as the Germans did recently in Posen, the Jews would lose even the material possession of territory, to which they have no historical right ; would disperse as gipsies and hucksters all over America, and the Jewish question would remain unaltered. It is quite different with Palestine. They say that many Arabs are so much convinced of Palestine being the property of the Jews, that they never lay a foundation for a building or bury their deceased without the presence of a Jew, who is supposed to concede the piece of land for the purpose. In this view of the local population with regard to the Holy Land lies the best security for our future. Moreover, the acquisition of a State in America requires means so large as to make the undertaking almost impossible. Palestine can be turned slowly and gradually into a close series of European colonies, villages, and cities.

The colonisation of Palestine is our only remedy, if we are not willing to perish ! All honest men of Europe will sympathise with us in that, and we even meet with such sympathy in the Russian press.

This would be neither a chimera nor an illusion if we only wanted it ourselves. We have three traditional means which have served us more or less in all our present evils : prayer, gifts, and struggles. If the influential ones among us, as the Rothschilds, Worms, Laskers, etc., would solicit the men in power to assist us in this holy undertaking ; if the eight million

Jews, with the Rothschilds, Montefiores, Bleichreders, Hirsches, Camondos, and others at their head, were to form at first a capital of some ten millions of roubles, to buy from the Turkish Government large streaks of land in Palestine for colonising them with Jews, if they were ready to struggle with the difficulties which are inevitable at the beginning; in short, if we were ready to bring sacrifices, which are insignificant as compared to the holy idea, our national cause would be won. We must work, have in hand a considerable sum, and be ready. Should it not succeed now, it might succeed in ten or twenty years. Why, we need no political independence, but only a national and economical one, as is enjoyed by all other nations, even such as are deprived of any political importance. It can only be impeded by the personal caprice of some vizier, and not by the interests of the present population of Palestine, which hardly exists. But personal caprices of rulers are only of temporary, and not decisive, importance in history. But if we shall do nothing, following the example of our journalists who, whilst assuring everybody of their sympathy for the holy cause of the colonisation of Palestine, cry all the time that it is a chimera, an illusion, Messiahianity, etc., then of course nothing will come out of it. Without us, nobody will try for us, and we shall perish.

We must work and act openly and legally. The western Jews can do it as soon as they like, but we have to solicit for permission to establish a Palestine and Syria Colonisation Society. Should the emigration be so organised that the departing Jews were not obliged to return to Russia still poorer than they left it, the Government will of course allow the emigration of poor Jews from Russia. Such permission is sure to be granted sooner or later.

But we, the Jews of all countries, must be penetrated with this holy idea, and work for its realisation. I have said already, that the eight millions of Jews can begin by forming a capital of 10 millions of roubles. Moreover, a weekly collection of 1 copeck each from all sympathizers would give some thousands of roubles annually. A certain percentage from the fees for "alioth," weddings, and burials can be devoted to it; Jewish lotteries, etc., can also be organised. In short, a large common capital must be formed for buying land in Palestine from the Turkish Government. This would do away with the arbitrary interference of the authorities. It would prevent the Greeks from buying up land on speculation for selling them to the Jews at exorbitant prices. It would enable many Jews to acquire small lots, whilst at present the rich Arab land-owners do not care to sell their land in parcels, and the poor Arabs have no right to sell land without the consent of the whole village

community. The administrators would also be able to restrain, under the risk of removal, all the obscurants and quarrel-makers from dissensions and fights about schools, "alioth," schochetim, etc., to which the Jewish mass is unfortunately so much inclined, through want of more vital interests. The capital spent on the purchase of large districts will be filled up by the purchase-money for small parcels, and the rent of the colonists, which will serve to effect further purchases, improvements in the means of communication, irrigation, forestry, etc. After the establishment of some 300 successful colonies, industries will be developed, and future colonists will be able to get on in the fruitful land of their fathers, which is rich in almost all the tropical plants, and connects three parts of the world.

If these plans are not to the purpose, let people find more practical ones. The principal thing is to start the work, and then will life and experience show how to conduct it. It is not the work of a year, or even of a generation. But the more we work the more will our forces increase. Our educated society has left us only because we have no ideals, without which they cannot live. It is true we had many intelligent men in the middle ages who were nevertheless altogether devoted to Judaism; but that was in a religious age. Some were kept by religion, some by its philosophy, and others by their love of the Hebrew language; and, moreover, they all believed sincerely in the future of Judaism restored to freedom and to the Holy Land. Now it is different: religion and its philosophy hardly have any interest for our enlightened ones; Hebrew literature, which is quite unknown to the majority of them, is, compared to the European literature, too poor for attracting them to Judaism. It is impossible to make it richer now, as in science and information it cannot possibly compete for the present with any literature; there are therefore no abstract ideals in our literature for the enlightened ones. The only ideal we thus far had was rather low, and moreover negative: that the Jews should not be rightless and defenceless. But negative ideals satisfy no one, and our enlightened ones were forced to turn away from us, to become assimilators, and to strive to general ideals. But when we possess, too, positive and elevated ideals, then shall our honest enlightened ones join us again. Nor will our masses remain behind. Man values that of which one wants to deprive him: in the middle ages they wanted to take away our religion, and we stuck to it; now, as they attack our nationality, it will become our cherished property, and we shall defend it with the same self-sacrifice as our ancestors defended their religion.

Work, then! lay the foundation of a national, natural, and normal life for ever-persecuted Israel. Give him back his family-hearth of which no other people in the world is deprived,

except the wandering gipsies. The eight millions of Jews, 75 per cent. of whom live in Europe, and mostly in countries where Anti-Semitism is raging, must and can do it. Do not be carried away by foolish missions, attributed to us by all kinds of Philistines. They feed on fables out of laziness and hypocrisy. We are degraded, cried down, bleeding, hungry, everywhere persecuted, despised by everybody; and they comfort us with missions, make us the teachers of that humanity which beats us so long and so cruelly! We, who could not teach humanity for three thousand years not to beat defenceless, homeless wanderers, shall teach it love, brotherhood, peace, etc., etc. What irony! What influence can a teacher exercise who is ever beaten by his pupils! It is true, the first Christians, too, were beaten, but by Neros and Diocletians; whilst we are beaten by nations.

Do not look at the assimilatory aspirations of our Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and other grandees and their imitators, —do not expect the initiative from them. Salvation did not come from Jerusalem to Israel doomed by Antiochus Epiphanes, but from the village Modaim. The Hellenistic aristocrats of the capital, and the proud Sadducees shamefully obeyed the wild caprice of the Syrian executioners; but the true sons of their people, the Maccabees, freed Jerusalem with incredible self-sacrifice. Then, only, Jerusalem followed; but the leadership and eternal glory remained with the initiators of the liberation of the Jewish people!

The above can be thus summarised:—

1. The Jewish masses are even, without the riots, reduced by old and new restrictions to terrible destitution, from which there is only one step to starvation.

2. Only colonisation in Palestine, which, of all the countries fit for colonisation of the Jews, is nearest to Russia, can save our starving population from death by starvation.

3. As strangers, and superfluous ones, our position is everywhere most degrading, and we live an unnatural and unnatural life.

4. Civilisation and progress cannot improve our position, but, on the contrary, must make it worse.

5. We have no mission whatever, and it is most ridiculous to point out any mission to an eternal sufferer.

6. We have three ways before us:—

(a.) To remain in *status quo*, as eternal sufferers, pariahs, gipsies, and expect all kinds of riots and even slaughters.

(b.) To amalgamate with the surrounding nations, not fictitiously, but really to renounce Judaism, embracing the religions of the nations among which we live, and lead for a long time the most miserable existence, until our remote posterity, deprived of all trace of Jewish origin, shall be finally and irretrievably dissolved among the Arian nations.

(c.) To undertake the regeneration of our people on the land of our fathers, where our nearest posterity shall live a quiet, normal, national life.

Choose !

A philosopher has said that the clearer and simpler a thing is, the more is it disbelieved and disputed. The same holds good for the colonisation of Palestine. The Jews are scattered and hated all over the world: for nearly two thousand years they have been driven, beaten, slaughtered. Unlike other nations, whose riches consist in land, the Jews live in the air and have no secure standing, in consequence of which, together with the disabilities, many of them starve and others pursue ugly trades. On the other hand, the land of their ancestors, who lived there fifteen hundred years in ease and riches—defending it with their last drop of blood—almost lies waste. Its bright sky and splendid sun shine on ruins, its fruitful soil is deserted, and its wealth hardly made use of. What could then be better for the Jews than to settle gradually in Palestine, so that they might, perhaps, in course of time, get out from their captivity with all its evils. It is true it must cost a lot of money and trouble; however, we don't speak of individuals, but of the idea in general.

But, owing to its very simplicity it is rejected by the Jews, and it is surprising that in this obstinacy the very pious Jews are agreed with the fashionable ones, who are ashamed of the name of "Jew." The religious Jews are waiting for the coming of Messiah, and the fashionable Jews reproach the friends of colonisation of Palestine with want of patriotism, with desertion of their (?) land. The pious Jews say that all our evils are God's punishment for our irreligiousness, and it is only through penitence that we can obtain God's mercy; whilst the fashionable Jews say that all the sufferings of the Jews are caused by their own evil deeds, and that as soon as they shall become educated, good, and nice, they will be beloved by all nations, which shall persecute them no more.

But it is clear that both classes understand well the falsity of their arguments. If the pious Jews did really think it a sin to go to Palestine without the Messiah, so many of them would

not go in their old age to Palestine to die there. But they know very well that colonies in Palestine have nothing to do with the Messiah, who is to establish a kingdom, whilst the colonists intend nothing of the kind. Even after the destruction of the second temple, the Jews expected a Messiah, which did not prevent them from living in hundreds of thousands in Palestine, where they carried on agriculture and commerce, till the later Emperors of Rome did not force them to embrace Christianity, which compelled them to fly. Now, when there is no fear of Roman Emperors, we may come back to Palestine and engage in the same pursuits as did our fathers after the destruction of the temple. Though they consider the riots as a punishment from God, still they do not hesitate to save themselves from the rioters as well as they can, thus escaping the punishment of God. As for the fashionable Jews, they often go to foreign countries, when there are better prospects, quite forgetting their patriotism. They must know, also, that, in spite of their education, they are still more hated by the Christians than the old-fashioned Jews with their long locks.


Why, then, do the most pious and the fashionable Jews agree in their aversion for Palestine? The real cause is the total want of the sense of national honour, and of attachment to our historical country. Though the pious Jews weep every ninth of Ab for the martyrs of our nation, and the fashionable ones boast of their heroism, when reproached with cowardice; those heroes would hide for grief and shame, if they could ever rise from their graves and see that their descendants have lost every honest Jewish national feeling in their pursuit after a livelihood.

One who is blind from birth cannot possibly understand what is a nice painting, nor can the deaf and dumb have an idea of music; in the same way the Jews born in captivity ignore the sense of nationality. The celebrated German, Herder, said of the Jews, that they were "a nation of wretched factors, who, in spite of all their sufferings, did not try to find a country where they might be independent men." But thus can only feel a German, born and brought up in his own land, whilst a Jew who reads it would shrug his shoulders and call him a Jew-hater. He cannot understand how right Herder was, since the grandchildren of those wretched factors, who are now bankers, lawyers, doctors, professors, etc., have no more national feeling than their wretched grandfathers.

The Jews want the national feeling. The pious Jew observes his religion, but does not care for the whole nation, its honour and peace. He knows, indeed, that the Jews once lived in Palestine, where they shall live again at the coming of the Messiah; but both past and future are covered from him by a thick veil. The fashionable Jew, on the other hand, got rid of

the little he knew of the Bible and of Jewish history. Indeed, what is the good of a bit of land in Asia together with the Jews, where there was no room for wild luxury, for theatres, with charming actresses and dancers, for mistresses, billiards, cards, and similar fruits of European civilisation.

But if they had a national feeling it would have been quite different; every Jew would continually exclaim the words of Herder, and Jews without Palestine would seem to him a body without a soul.



THE IDEA OF THE COLONISATION OF PALESTINE.



I.

When a calamity befalls a nation, or it is pursued by enemies, there at once arise men of distinction with some plan of salvation ; and it sometimes happens that the idea is carried out by all, great and small. But the Jews in this, too, form an exception ; with us the right idea is rather slow in coming, and after it comes, it takes long to be carried out. Why? Because we are by nature a quiet people, satisfied with the present and careless of the future. It is enough for our enemies to grant us a moment of repose to make us forget our former sufferings, without securing ourselves against a repetition of the evil which might befall any hour. We do not utilise the time of repose for inventing and carrying out plans of protection against permanent animosity. No, the Jew only cries when in extremity—when the water reaches his throat. Then he is ready to obey in everything in order to save himself. But when one does not prepare during the summer, one has no provision in the winter. As we do not trouble about means of salvation in time of peace, we are unable to save ourselves in the evil hour, when we do not know what to do, bewildered as we are by the persecutions which always take us by surprise.

Had any other people passed through only a tenth part of the sufferings of our long captivity, it would have obtained rest long ago, either by the sword or by peaceful means. We are the only nation which boasts of the ability of bearing sufferings and trials, nor is any other people so easily deceived by vain hopes. The Jew prides himself on still existing in spite of eighteen centuries of suffering, which proves a firm character and strong will. But would it not have been braver to find out a means of liberation from all the sufferings? Had the Jews only once set to thinking of means to avoid, once for all, persecution, they

could not fail to discover that there is no other means for it but the establishment of colonies and commerce in Palestine. When there will be a corner of the earth where a persecuted Jew might find rest among his co-religionists, we shall no more be such outlaws in the world. But the Jews never thought of that ; they only tried to evade blows instead of avoiding them altogether. They merely tried to exhaust the rage of the persecutor, and as soon as the latter stopped beating, they already imagined that he was tired for ever, and would never beat again ; and notwithstanding all the bitter deceptions, they would soon forget it—and that accounts for all our sufferings.

Had we made any use of all the favourable intervals during the last eighteen centuries for practical work in Palestine, we might have been now in a happy position. But we always ascribed our sufferings to our sins against God, who orders them to persecute us, though other nations had sinned much more without bearing the hundredth part of our sufferings. But the real reasons of our long captivity are : (1) our false hope that our persecutors will at last get tired, and (2) our imagining it to be the punishment of God for unknown sins.

The idea of the agricultural colonisation of Palestine only arose about a quarter of a century ago, among our best men, but even then it was not taken up practically, notwithstanding the favourable circumstances ; otherwise we would already enjoy its fruits, and might have ceased to be the vagrants of the world. The enlightened Jews trusted in the civilisation and humanity of the nineteenth century, whilst the religious class considered colonisation as sinful without the prophet Elijah and the Messiah riding on an ass ; notwithstanding the Talmudical injunction to live in Palestine.

And this, the idea of the colonisation of Palestine, for agriculture, instead of begging, remained without any results down to 1881.

In that year the spell of rest granted by the enemies was interrupted by an outbreak of their eternal hatred. The Anti-Semitism, originated in Germany, spread like a pest over Hungary, Roumania, and Russia. The riots and fires, on the one hand, and the restrictive laws of the 3rd of May, 1882, together with the expulsion from the villages, on the other, awoke our people from their sweet dream.

In our perplexity we took recourse to useless means, which injured us still more. Thousands of families, already half-ruined by the rioters, ruined themselves thoroughly by running to Brody, owing to a rumour that the Alliance would take them to America, where it would provide for them. But most of them had to starve in the streets of Brody. Had the Alliance spent the money on the colonisation of Palestine,

instead of transportation to America, it might have done a great deal. But why did our rich do nothing? Why did they allow their plundered brethren to run to Brody or to Palestine without any means, so that they fell into the hands of the missionaries? Because they imagined, or affected to imagine, that the riots were a mere accident, without any permanent consequences, and that is why they thought fit to decide at the conference of St. Petersburg to prohibit emigration altogether, that is to say, to prevent the unfortunate ones from saving themselves!

But after the first moments of confusion the senseless emigration to America stopped, nor did they congregate any more in masses at Brody, and did start no more for Palestine without any means; our best men began to think of a safe refuge from repeated persecution. They could not consider the riots as an accident, since the persecution is still going on, and since it differed from previous persecutions caused by religious zeal. Nowadays the Jew is persecuted for excelling in education, commerce, and almost in all the walks of life; and this persecution can only stop when the Jew will give up all this, or when he leaves the field altogether. Since the first is impossible, our best men wanted to try the second plan, of removing a certain number of the Jews elsewhere, so as to diminish their number in the persecuted region, and to procure for the emigrants a safer living in their new place of residence. Such a place must unite two conditions, namely: (1), it must be acceptable to all of us, and capable of being considered as our own, without requiring long habit; and (2), it must not be a commercial country, so that the Jew might take all the better to agriculture, which alone can ensure for him a better and safer life in every respect.

Such were the ideas of our best men, who set diligently to work, and we rejoice to see that they are progressing. There are many abroad who work practically for it, so that in a few years we got seven ready-made colonies in Palestine. It is to be hoped that we shall not fall again into a false sense of security, and neglect the practical execution of this idea, which provides for the present and allows to hope in the future. This must never be, since, after eighteen centuries of persecution, we have at last ascertained that the hatred of our enemies can only be appeased by our acquiring a corner of earth to be tilled by our brethren; and at last we have found out that corner, viz., Palestine, to which we aspire for carrying out the idea of colonisation.

Honourable Readers, Philanthropists, and Friends of our cause, amongst whom is prominent the well-known BARON VON HIRSCH :

I would propose that a meeting be called in which the various opinions on this great question might be expressed, and that not only words but actions might further our cause, which at present is beset with great difficulties.

I believe that combination amongst our brethren would bear good fruits, as in a congress of Jewish philanthropists this great question could, no doubt, be satisfactorily settled. The various opinions which everyone would express, according to his own ideas, about Palestine, America, and the assimilation questions, which some of us have been unable to obtain from the mere reading of books, could be defined by the more learned. And from those who have witnessed the sufferings, and have experienced the lack of education in families, we hope to be advised how to progress and obtain a fresh life after so many years of terrible suffering and degradation.

I am convinced of your good intentions, and, though not yet perfect, I know you love the truth. I must also remind you that the time for accomplishing our object is short, and the future may be worse for us than any time yet experienced, and therefore it will be my duty to prevent this by combination of our brethren.

The philanthropists will not be able to help more, but the question will arise, "What shall be done with the four millions of our nation?"

Your assistance to our cause will be recorded in history, and history is the judgment of the world.

During the time this book has been in the hands of the printers, I have had the opinion of sixteen delegates from the Russian Jewish congregation, doctors, engineers, and Rabbis, that the Holy Land is as well adapted for agriculture as Switzerland and Italy.



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